/2 cont./

101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
193 say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but
[114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

5: Simpson SS16 Pemon SS16

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/For an analysis of Kamarakoto grammar, see category 116, pp. 72-91./

*192 *197 802

decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganę.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseurau.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kaleña'-nę'.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wə'-rə. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tekuankon (= tekuan + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kalíña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:n-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wə' -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin karíña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

*192 *197 ● 193 826

When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuna, "his nose" = iteuna, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

suffixes, as well as -re, -ri, and -ru appear among numerous other more distantly allied dialects.

13. *Head — pupai-to. Taurepan, (i)pai. Makuchi (Williams) pu-bai. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)pai-le. In Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) "their head" = to-pu:pai. This is probably analogous to the case of meta = -nta, see "mouth."

14. Hair (of head) — mutse-to.

15. Hair, a hair, (generally) — chipoi.

16. *Eye — enu-to. Taurepan (k)einu. Makuchi (Williams) e-nu. With slight changes in vowel sounds, this is almost invariable in Carib languages, but rarely the nasal is lost, e.g. (Adam) Opone (i)-eu.

17. *Nose — euna-to. Taurepan (t)euna. Makuchi (Williams) eu-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)euma-le.

18. Lips — epi-to.

19. *Mouth — meta-to. Taurepan (e)nta. Makuchi (Williams) "my mouth" = u-nda, "our mouths" (dual) = ana m -ta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nta-le. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) matale (-le is probably a postposition as in Ingariko and = Kamarakoto -to).

This word serves to note one of the outstanding peculiarities of Carib languages in general and of Kamarakoto in particular. It is characteristic of many Carib languages that many nouns have combining forms which are longer and more complex than their absolute or disjunctive forms. Thus the commonest forms of the word for "mouth," as in Taurepan, is a recognizable variant of a root -nta-, but in some combinations this becomes a variant of a seemingly distinct root -meta-, as in Taurepan to-meta, their mouths. By comparison of many dialects a theoretical transformation of the type u-meta ("my mouth" in Kamarakoto) — umeta — umta — unta ("my mouth" in Taurepan) can be postulated and seems a probable explanation. On this theory, -meta- is the original root, -nta- a reduced form. Here, as in several other cases, Kamarakoto retains the unreduced form where allied dialects have the reduced form.[41] The roots Kamarakoto -puta-, Taurepan -ta-, (= "foot," see below) give another example and several others occur in these languages.

20. *Ear — pana-to. Taurepan, pana. Makuchi (Williams) pana. The root pana with little change is present in most dialects, but note the following: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-hanna-ri. Bakairi (Adams) nana-ta. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) yana:li (here -li is probably a postposition like Kamarakoto -to).

21. Neck (front) — pūimōi-tó.

22. Neck (back) — pūimōi-yepa-to.

[41] [see footnote on p. 310, category 11B — Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.
*197 24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eumukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.
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[194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena. (it)eɲa. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative. ny not equivalent to n̄. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareō-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawaɔn
30. 5 — yami'
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aunɛ:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eumɔta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.
34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]
● [193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikin-pɔta -pipɔ, in which pɔta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta' and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.
36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pg. 310-311, category 116 - Anatomy]

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*192 824 37. Bone — yeupu, yeupe.

Persons and Relationships.

*192 *197 38. "Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) urazuo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. "Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. "Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

*192 41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

● [93] [10] 42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamarata" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — murę.

44. Older person — uyadeta.

45. Younger person — yamipe.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-ɛsi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 11b — Analyst]

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛrɨmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə, ũ, and õ in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

*192 823 ● [193]

a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpũi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpũi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepũi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wõyõpũi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

*192 *193 823 [193]

255. Savannah, sabana — ita.i, suffix form -ta.i, e.g. Uruyen-ta.i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itõi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. °Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita.i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Kamarakotos do not appear to have a word for "valley" in our sense of a drainage unit or of slopes plus a watercourse.

257. Forest — chureta. Cartographic transcription: churetá. Taurepán, tuʾrita.

258. Rock (a rock or a stone) — tōʾ. Cartographic transcription: tuk. (This is very poor but seems to me better than the form tek adopted by Father Baltasar for the Taurepán word.) Taurepán, tō, təʾ. Makuchi (Williams) təʾ.

259. Stream, water — tuna. This means "water" in general, but it is also the word always used for a stream of water. Cartographic transcription: tuná. Taurepán, tuna. Makuchi (Williams), tu-na.

260. River, large stream — tuna-kaipun (literally "big water"). Cartographic transcription: tuná-kaipún.

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261. Ravine, "quebrada" — paru. Cartographic transcription: parú. Taurepán - paru, "river." This word is hardly in everyday use either by Kamarakotos or Taurepánes and the latter seem never to use it except as a suffix. It is, among them, an obsolete word for "river," which is preserved in the names of many rivers, Uriman-paru, etc., but the vernacular word for "river" is tuna, as in Kamarakoto. In Kamarakoto paru is not ordinarily used as a suffix in river names, e.g. the Aicha River is called simply aicha, never aicha-paru, but it does appear in a few ancient place names. Even in its secondary meaning of "ravine," paru seems to be obsolescent in Kamarakoto.

262. Lake — ikupə. Cartographic transcription: ikupá (perhaps producing a little closer to the true sound than ikupé). Taurepán, kupə. (The i- of the Kamarakoto word probably is not the possessive pronoun, or at least it seems not to be omitted even when no possessive concept is involved.)

263. Falls (of water) — bena, tuna-bena. Cartographic transcription: benᵃ, tuná-benᵃ. This is used as a suffix in names of falls, e.g. aicha-bena, "The Aicha Falls." This word does not occur in Taurepán, the next word being used both for falls and rapids.

264. Rapids, cascade — meru. Geographic transcription: merú. The Kamarakotos do not apply this word to a waterfall with a notable free fall of water. Taurepán, meru. The Taurepánes use this word both for rapids and for falls. Most of the features that have names ending in -meru in

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the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

103 104 b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

[114]

103

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-təpūi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-təpūi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-təpūi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukūi-wokō-kūyen-təpūi, or Tukūi-po-kuyen-təpūi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyēn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-təpūi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawais

*197 825 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koro:toiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

● [193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wari', "female," and warato, "male," to kõroitoko.

*197 825 262

(b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kũrikũri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waya:ra (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukui'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

*197 P24 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumi:' among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

P24 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛ' (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛ' as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question. [193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moi'.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛ', gwai-yɛ'.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elaïs sp. ? — mausa-yɛ'.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛ'.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — mari-pada-yɛ'.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — aba'-yɛ'.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛ' (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, =
193 (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for
171 steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Vene-
104 zuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan,
104 like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

● 193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 [197] 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to^{a}-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lume, "their daughter," but enji and lume are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 127 114 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.

193 127 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 153 195 192 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter. This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but apparently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 192 [439] 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 114 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekumas were forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 [103] [197] [114] 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call them the Arekumas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become) the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 114 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.